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USCINCEUR
USDEL SALT TWO
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2462

E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

SUBJ: MBFR: SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS ON GUIDELINES FOR

NEGOTIATIONS

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

REF: A) USNATO 2345 B) USNATO 2129

SUMMARY: NEW SPC DRAFT OF CONFIDENTIAL GUIDELINES FOR CONSTRUCTION OF ALLIED MBFR POSITION FOR AUTUMN NEGOTATIONS (SEPTEL) IS REORDERED AND SOMEWHAT AMPLIFIED VERSION OF GUIDELINES IN U. S. PAPER, WITH EXTENSIVE REPHRASING BUT LITTLE CHANGE IN SUBSTANCE SECRET

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OF U. S. POINTS. FRG TOOK MOST ACTIVE ROLE IN BOTH REORDERING AND REPHRASING, AND PROMISED ADDITIONAL PROPOSED CHAPTER ON " CONSTRUCTION OF AN INTEGRATED ALLIED MBFR PROGRAM", WHICH WOULD CONTAIN SOME TACTICAL POINTS AND WHICH FRG DEL NOW EXPECTS TO CIRCULATE AT OR

BEFORE MAY 23 NAC. SEVERAL ADDITIONS RESPOND TO GEOGRAPHIC CONCERN OF INDIVIDUAL ALLIES, NOTABLY FRG/ UK DESIRE TO RULE OUT MBFR ZONES THAT WOULD GIVE SOVIETS RIGHT TO INTERFERE WITH GROWTH OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. NEW DRAFT ALSO INCLUDES LANGUAGE FROM EARLIER AGREED DOCUMENTS ON NON- CIRCUMVENTION IN HUNGARY AND ON VERIFICATION. AS IN EARLIER MBFR DISCUSSIONS, ONE MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUE WAS WHETHER CONSTRAINTS ZONE SHOULD BE CONGRUENT WITH OR WIDER THAN REDUCTION ZONE. UK, FRG, NETHERLANDS, AND BELGIUM RESERVED POSITIONS ON WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD AIM FOR INITIAL AGREEMENT ON STATIONED FORCES. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO PARAS IN NEW TEXT OF DRAFT GUIDLINES FORWARDED BY SPC TO NAC ON MAY 17:

PARA 1: FIRST SENTENCE IS MODIFICATION OF SECOND SENTENCE IN PARA ONE OF U. S. GUIDELINES. THE WORDS "AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES" RESPOND TO NORWEGIAN DESIRE TO HAVE GUIDELINES EXPRESS POSITIVE AIM AS WELL AS NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS ON EVENTUAL NEGOTIATING POSITION. SECOND SENTENCE REPHRASES FIRST SENTENCE IN U. S. PARA ONE. THIRD SENTENCE IS TAKEN FROM U. S. PARA 4. REASON FOR PLACING IT IN PARA ONE OF NEW DRAFT WAS TO ESTABLISH AT OUTSET THE SPECIFIC CRITERIA FOR ALLIED MILITARY SECURITY.

PARA 2: ENTIRE PARA IS TAKEN FROM SECOND FULL PARA ON PAGE 6
OF U. S. STUDY. IN VIEW OF PREFERENCE OF MANY ALLIES THAT CONSTRAINTS
SHOULD NOT DEFINITIVELY BE LIMITED TO REDUCTION ZONE, FIRST SENTENCE
HAS BEEN SLIGHTLY MODIFIED FROM U. S. TEXT TO STATE ONLY THAT
REDUTIONS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO CENTRAL EUROPE, A POINT ON
WHICH ALL CAN AGREE. ONLY OTHER SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE FROM U. S.
TEXT IS DELETION OF "SUCH AS THE BALKANS" IN SECOND SENTENCE,
WHICH WAS PROPOSED BY TURKEY SO AS TO MAKE MORE GENERAL THE PRECAUTION AGAINST EXPANSION OF THE MBFR AREA. DELETION OF LAST
CLAUSE IN THIRD SENTENCE OF U. S. TEXT WAS MERELY TO MAKE PARA
TIGHTER. WORD "NECESSARILY" WAS ADDED TO SATISFY DANISH AND NETHERLANDS REPS AND PLACED IN BRACKETS BY GREEK REP.

PARA 3: INCLUDED AT TURKISH INSISTENCE TO COVER STANDARD FLANK VIEW THAT ALLIES CAN NOT IGNORE POTENTIAL POST- MBFR REDEPLOYMENTS SECRET

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TOWARDS FLANKS. SEVERAL REPS POINTED OUT THAT SAME POINT WAS ALSO MADE UNDER " NON- CIRCUMVENTION" (PARA 12) , BUT TURKISH REPREFUSED TO YIELD TO MAJORITY FAVORING DELETION.

PARA 4: REPRESENTS RESTATEMENT OF LANGUAGE AGREED BY ALLIES IN 1971 IN PARA 8(H)(I) OF C- M(71)49 (BROSIO MANDATE), PRPOSED FOR INSERTION IN GUIDELINES BY SPC CHAIRMAN IN ATTEMPT TO MEET CONTINUING GERMAN FEAR OF BEING ONLYHWESTERN STATE IN MBFR AREA.

PARA 5: REPRESENTS FRG LANGUAGE BASED ON PARA 10 OF AMBASSADOR KRAPF'S STATEMENT IN NAC (USNATO 2347). ORIGINAL FRG PROPOSAL BEGAN: "MBFR SHOULD AVOID THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL..." PRESENT LESS CATEGORICAL INTRODUCTION WAS UK SUGGESTION. U. S. AND DUTCH REPS ASKED FRG TO EXPLAIN INTENT OF THIS PARA, POINTING OUT THAT

MBFR WOULD INEVITABLY CREATE A ZONE OR ZONES WHICH WOULD BE DIFFERENT FROM OTHER AREAS WITHIN "WESTERN SECURITY STRUCTURE." FRG REP (BOSS) GAVE HALTING EXPLANATION THAT INTENTHWAS TO SET PRINCIPLE THAT SOVIETS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO FIND BASIS IN MBFR AGREEMENTS TO INTERFERE WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS

COMMENT: ALTHOUGH PARA SHOULD BE SEEN DIRECTLY LINKED WITH ONE THAT FOLLOWS, THOUGHT REMAINS UNCLEAR, AND WE WOULD WELCOME ALTERNATIVE EXPRESSIONS THAT WASHINGTON WOULD FIND ACCEPTABLE. END COMMENT

PARA 6: UK LANGUAGE WHICH INCORPORATES IN FINAL PHRASE LANGUAGE FROM LAST PARA ON PAGE 5 OF U. S. STUDY.

PARA 7: REPRESENTS PARA TWO OF U. S. GUIDLINES (MINUS U. S. LANGUAGE FROM LAST PARA ON PAGE 5 OF U. S. STUDY.

PARA 7: REPRESENTS PARA TWO OF U. S. GUIDLINES (MINUS U. S. LANGUAGE ON NON-CIRUMVENTIO, WHICH HAS BEEN MOVED), WITH NO OTHER SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES.

PARA 8: CONTAINS TEXT OF U. S. PARA 3, WITH MODIFCATIONS IN FIRST CLAUSE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT INTENT WAS TO IMPLEMENT RATHER THAN MERELY PROPOSE INITIAL REDUCTIONS IN STATIONED FORCES. ITALIAN REP SUPPORTED CURRENT TEXT. AS STATED IN FOOTNOTE, HOWEVER, SEVERAL IMPORTANT ALLIES ARE NOT YET PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS GUIDELINE, AND STATE THAT SECRET

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THEY WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO DO SO UNTIL POLICY DECISION TAKEN AT THE

HIGHEST LEVEL. FRG, UK, NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM ALL RESERVED POSITIONS, AND ENTIRE PARA WAS ACCORDINGLY BRACKETED, ON UNDERSTANDING THAT CONSIDERABLE FURTHER REFINEMENT OF LANGUAGE WOULD BE NECESSARY IN ANY EVENT

PARA 9: REPRESENTS U. S. PARA 4. SECOND SENTENCE OF U. S. PARA 4 HAS BEEN MOVED TOHPARA ONE OF NEW TEXT.

PARA 10: SINCE U. S. GUIDELINE IN PREVIOUS PARA DEALS ONLY WITH MANPOWER, U. S. REP WAS ASKED IF HE COULD FURNISH AN ADDITIONAL GUIDELINE ON TREATMENT OF EQUIPMENT. AFTER REFLECTION ON QUESTION BETWEEN MEETINGS, U. S. REP STATED THAT THERE ARE DISCONTINUITIES IN TREATMENT OF EQUIPMENT IN THE THREE ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS AND THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEVELOP A COMMON GUIDELINE APPLICABLE TO ALL POTENTIAL OUTCOMES FORESEEN BY U. S. COMMENT: AN ADDITIONAL UNSTATED REASON FOR OUR RELUCTANCE TO INTRODUCE A GUIDELINE ON TREATMENT OF EQUIPMENT IS THAT IN OUR VIEW IT MAY WELL PROVE DIFDIFULT TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT IN WHICH ALL SOVIET EQUIPMENT IS WITHDRAWN WITH UNITS, AND ALL WESTERN STATIONED EQUIPMENT REMAINS STOCKPILED IN REDUCTION AREA, AS FORESEEN IN U. S. FIRST AND SECOND OPTIONS. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO MAKE THIS FEATURE A

FIXED GUIDELINE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED MBFR POSITION. END COMMENT

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PARA 11: FIRST SENTENCE IS DRAWN FROM PARA 6 OF U. S. TEXT. SECOND SENTENCE IS LANGUAGE DEVELOPED BY U. S. MISSION IN RESPONSE TO SPC CHAIRMAN'S REQUEST THAT WE PROPOSE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SECOND SENTENCE IN U. S. TEXT. NEW SECOND SENTENCE BORROWS PHRASES FROM EARLIER PAGES OF U. S. PAPER, GUIDELINES AND AGENDA PAPER, AND FRG POLICY STATEMENT IN USNATO 2347. THIRD SENTENCE OF THE U. S. TEXT

WAS DROPPED AT THE REQUEST OF FRG, WITH SUPPORT FROM OTHERS, WHO ARGUED THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE COMMITTED AT THIS TAGE TO PUTTING FORTH CONCRETE PROPOSALS IN THE FALL, IN EVENT ALLIES MIGHT WISH INSTEAD TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH MORE GENERAL EXCHANGES AND PROBES. U. S. REP DID NOT OPPOSE DELETION OF SENTENCE, BUT MADE CLEAR THAT SENTENCE CONTINUED TO REPRESENT A CLEAR STATEMENT OF U. S. POLICY, TO WHICH WE WOULD RETURN IN NEAR FUTURE. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD SOON INTRODUCE INTO COUNCIL A TIMETABLE WITH STEPS SECRET

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FOR POST- MINISTERIAL ACTION LEADING TO AGREEMENT ON A NEGOTIATING

PROPOSAL INCLUDING RECUTIONS. END COMMENT

PARA 12: REMAINDER OF PARA, INCLUDING FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCE, IS REITERATION OF MARCH 12 INTERNAL COUNCIL UNDERSTANDING ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN HUNGARY. PHRASE "THROUGH APPROPRIATE MEANS" WAS INSERTED BY BELGIAN REP. SECOND BRACKETED ALTERNATIVE FOR SECOND SENTENCE IS RESURRECTION OF FRG PREFERENCE FROM DEBATE PRECEDING COUNCIL'S MARCH 12 DECISION. MAJORITY FAVORS FRG PREFERENCE, WITH U. S. AND SOUTHERN FLANK COUNTRIES IN THE MINORITY ON THIS POINT

PARA 13: FIRST BRACKETED ALTERNATIVE IS INTENDED TO INCORPORATE SUBSTANCE OF THIRD SENTENCE OF U. S. HPARA 5, AND WAS PREFERRED BY U. S. AND CANADA. UK AND NETHERLANDS SUPPORTED FRG LANGUAGE IN SECOND BRACKETED ALTERNATIVE

PARA 14: INCORPORATES GIST OF REMAINDER OF U. S. PARA 5, WITH EXCEPTION OF LAST SENTENCE, WHICH WAS DROPPED. BRACKETS AROUND SECOND SENTENCE OF NEW PARA 14 WERE INSERTED BY FRG. AFTER EXTENSIVE DEBATE ON DEFINING PURPOSE OF CONSTRAINTS (LAST SENTENCE OF U. S. PARA 5), INCLUDING QUESTION WHETHER PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS WOULD HAVE SAME PURPOSE AS CONSTRAINTS TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS, SPC CHAIRMAN PROPOSED THAT SENTENCE BE DROPPED, ON UNDERSTANDING THAT ALLIES ARE ALL AGREED THAT CONSTRAINTS ARE NECESSARY: WHEATEVER THE VARIOUS VIEWS ARE AS TO PURPOSE.

PARA 15: AFTER SEVERAL REPS HAD REQUESTED A PARA ON VERIFICATION, INTERNATIONAL STAFF INTRODUCED INTO DRAFT OF GUIDELINES A TEXT BASED ON POINTS ON PAGES 13 AND 14 OF U. S. PAPER. OTHERS PREFERRED RESTATEMENT OF EARLIER ALLIED AGREEMENT ON VERIFICATION, IN GUIDELINES AND AGENDA PAPER, WHICH NOW APPEARS IN FIRST SENTENCE. WATERED-DOWN VERSION OF THRUST OF U. S. POINTS REMAINS AS LAST SENTENCE.

PARA 16: HCONTAINS U. S. PARA 7, PLUS SENTENCE REPRESENTING INVERSION OF THOUGHT IN SECOND SUBPARAGRAPH ON PAGE 3 OF U. S. PAPER. CANADIAN REP ASKED IF U. S. IN FACT EXPECTED A NEW PROGRAM FOR DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS, BEARING IN MIND CONTINUING AD-70 EFFORTS. U. S. REP REPLIED THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THE U. S. G. DID HOPE TO SET IN TRAIN A NEW PROGRAM.

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PARA 17: AT THE REQUEST OF ITALIAN REP, THIS PARA WAS ADDED TO LAY BASIS FOR FUTURE CONSULTATIONS. LANGUAGE IS PARAPHRASE OF EARLIER AGREED NAC DOCUMENT ON CONSOLIDATED CONSULTATIVE PROGRAM (PO/72/413). U. S. REP ASKED IF ANY MEMBERS HAD SPECIFIC IDEAS ON HOW CURRENT CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE CHANGED. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT JOINT COMMUNICATIONS ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN BRUSSELS AND VIENNA COULD BE IMPROVED. UK REP SAID THOMSON (UK REP IN VIEWNNA) LIKELY TO HAVE BROADER SUGGESTIONS, BUT WOULD DEFER OFFERING THEM UNTIL AFTER COMPLETION OF INITIAL TALKS. U. S. REP SAID WE MIGHT ALSO WISH TO RETURN TO QUESTION AFTER TALKS.

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USCINCEUR SALT TWO HELSINKI VIENNA

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